/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole
day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the
baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of
the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuẑawa gave the order to fish. The whole
village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with
the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the
economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the
lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or
ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various
manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few
years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox,
and Tuẑawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the
disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active
part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him,
and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/
or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the
dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside
their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different
players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant
house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over
the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 114 Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

[178]

224 [222] At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

[462] [756] [231]

226 Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

252 562 **Food preparation.**—Salt was originally unknown.

[263] All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

[574]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

361 In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

[342] [345] [184]

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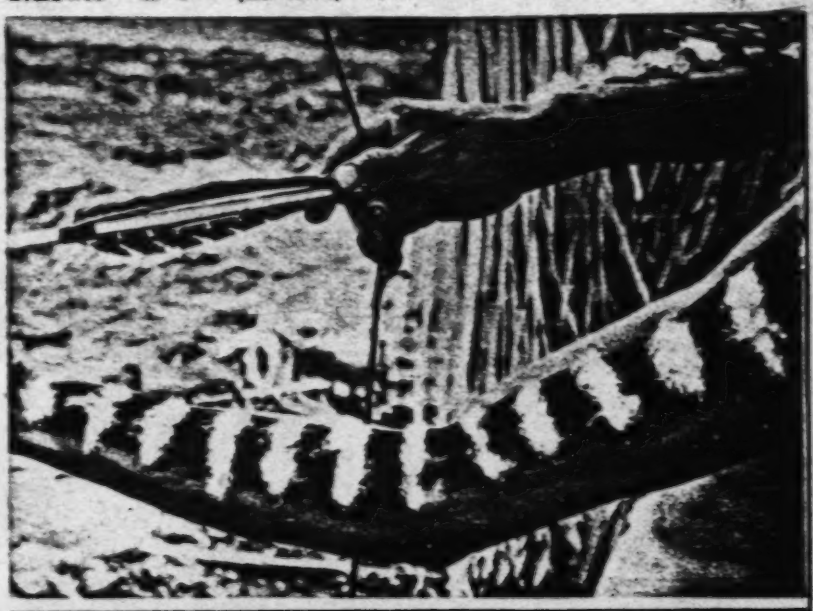

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PLATE II.—Bororo archery. *Top:* Arrow release. At village of Kejara. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)
Below: Rio Lourenço, Bororo shooting fish. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432 - D]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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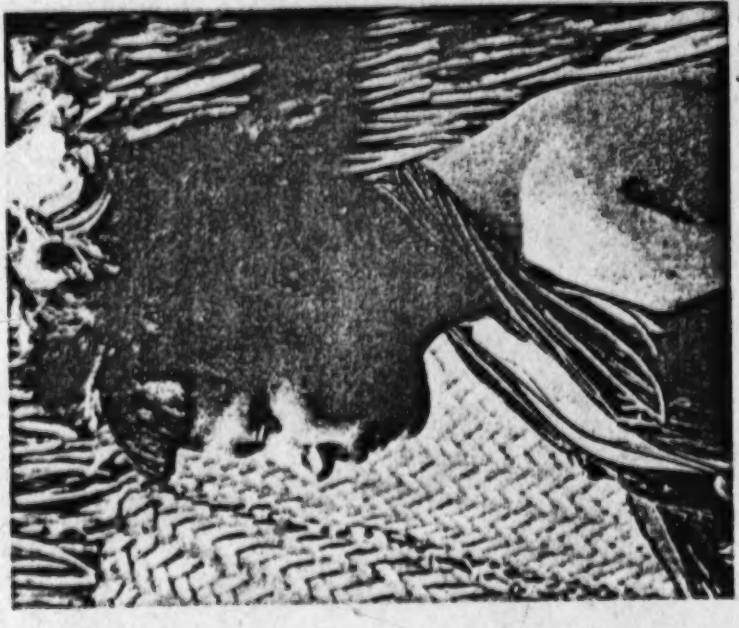

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[P. 432-J]

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

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FIGURE 1. AN VIEW OF THE UPPER PARAGUAYAN VALLEY

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FIGURE 2. SÃO LOURENÇO BORORO SHOOTING FISH

[P.102]

[Plate IV]

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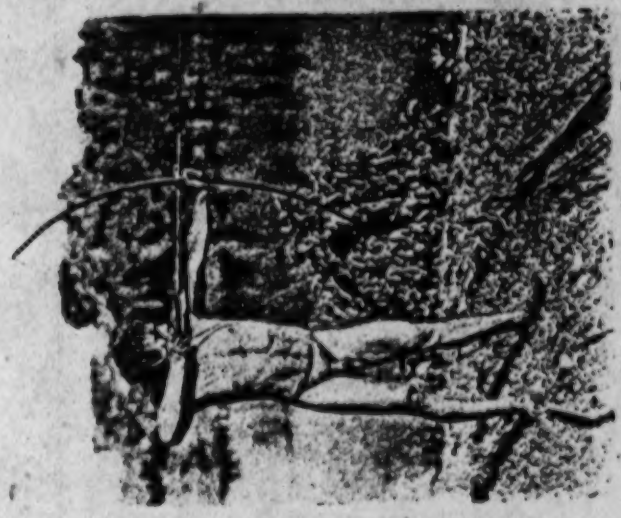

Figure 1. São Lourenço Bororo Drawing the Bow

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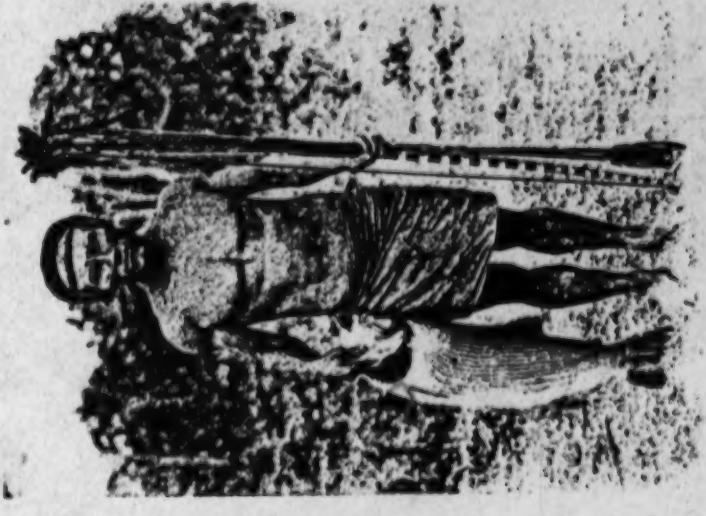

Figure 1. São Lourenço Bororo with Final Hit Shot

[P.105] [Plate V]

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine [162] houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) [163] with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people [165] died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult [733] population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds [164] of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform- 114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re- 178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the [224] economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non- [226] existent, and great time and effort were required to catch [167] fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot- 167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept 177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers), she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
[847] [846] into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
[224] duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
[226] the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
[261] ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
[276] [545] drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
846 "child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility. After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
[824] only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
[252] or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
[291] white one just as she does when she is menstruating.
[292]

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 man is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will
264 of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the words do not have sexual implications but merely point out the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is given to his initiator. The continuous companionship anticipated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son, and his father--his yorubodare. The meaning is more apparent in other variants of the speech which do not start with akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;" or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the boy's father was responsible for his education. The father showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
716 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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DRUGGED FISH try to escape weir and are netted when they enter its chutes.

[p. 39-B]

0:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPS Bororo SPS

Mr. Kozák, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

All the villagers gather round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

[p. 41-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

778 being made for the funeral prelude. There was deep silence, and
123 the word bope was whispered low and mysteriously. Certain warning calls are given some hours in advance of the time for bringing the roarers into use, and, hearing these warnings, the females enter their huts, close the openings, and hide their heads. The roarers are manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush. We had difficulty in securing examples of these instruments. They were brought to us at night securely wrapped and amid the greatest secrecy, every precaution being taken to make sure that we would keep them where there would be no possibility of a female seeing them. We also had much difficulty in obtaining the base flute which is played only over the bones of their dead. A captain said to me, "That is a very bad instrument; you must not take it. If you do you will never return."

481 The Bororó are expert swimmers and are fishermen of the highest
226 order. One mode of fishing is to swim out into the river, three or four miles above the village, with a net called buke, like a great bag, its mouth secured to two parallel rods nine to twelve feet long, bound together at their ends. When one or more fish are seen, the mouth of the sack is opened by springing the rods apart, and with wonderful dexterity the fish are bagged and the mouth of the net quickly closed by allowing the rods to spring together. The fisherman then plays the game, especially if it be large; gradually rolls the net over the rods till the fish cannot move, brings it to the surface and kills it with a club, which he trails by a cord from his neck. The fish is now taken from the net, strung on a cord, and floated along with the club. Sometimes two or more fish of twelve or fifteen pounds will be taken at one catch, or maybe one weighing as much as the man himself will be bagged in this way. A Bororó will remain in the water an hour or two continuously, and return ashore with six or eight large fish. They have learned to turn their bodily strength to the greatest account while in the water.

226 Another method of fishing is with a bone harpoon, to which is secured a long cord and a short detachable bamboo staff. With this the fisherman enters the water, and, finding a large fish in the shadow of a rock, following it with great expertness if it moves, he plunges the harpoon into it even at a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, while the staff detaches itself and remains in his hand with the end of the cord secured to it. The fisherman now returns to shore and plays the fish until he lands it.

Another method, when fish are scarce, is for one gang of men to enter the water with their sack nets, three or four miles above the

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

village, form a chain across the stream and make a great commotion and drive the fish downstream to a point near the village where another gang with sack nets awaits to bag the game. Sometimes they fish at dead of night, but as a rule they rarely leave the village after dark except in war. 226

Late one cloudy afternoon we had the pleasure of seeing the Bororó play Mano, the name of the small banana-like plant used in this game. It seems to be a close imitation of some of the performances of ants. Indeed, the imitating of nature occupies a large part of the Bororó life. Early in the day they went up the river and cut many of these plants, which grow three or four feet high, floated them down on rude bamboo rafts, carried them to a point about 600 yards from the village, and placed them in two piles, one for each of the two parties into which every village is divided—the Xeráede and the Ta Nagarêde. Each group prepared its material by cutting off the tops of the mano, leaving a spongy stem about eighteen inches long, and when all was ready each made its pile into a huge wheel. This was done by two men for each wheel standing face to face, about five and a half feet apart, with two long, strong, parallel cords between them, reaching from the ground up over their shoulders, for binding the material into a wheel. The mano was then piled in between each pair of Indians acting as p[illegible]s, and when the weight pressed too heavily upon them, they were supported by other Indians leaning against them, back to back. When the mano was all in place the cords were drawn over the top and tightened. The wheels were next laid flat on the ground and a string of men pulled with all their strength on each of the four ends of the cord for each wheel, while others pounded the spongy mass so close that it could not burst. Each wheel was again set upright to be seized and hurried off in the mad race for the village. But the Bororó must do things decently and in order, so a Ta Nagarêda man, with much ceremony steps quickly over to the Xeráede, takes a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel and stops in front of it, meaning by this that his wheel is delivered to its party, and the same ceremony is repeated by the other side. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces others of his own party just as he himself was introduced, until all surround their own wheels. At a given signal each group seizes its wheel, throws it up on its shoulders, and runs pell mell in a race to the village. Each squad of these human ants tries to keep its wheel upright as it sags this way and that, or finally rolls over on the carriers, to be quickly straightened up, and rushed along again, each crowd endeavoring to 524

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SPS Bororo SPS

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each party eating separately.

224 226 533 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the unearthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, [532] and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 583 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 412 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to furnish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in 433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and 226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January, 222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the [283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

The
226 savages were surfeited with fish, for we saw heaps of ten
251 and twenty-pound specimens lying in their huts. This was
433 their season, not only of plenty, but of super-abundance; nevertheless, since they preserve nothing for the season of scarcity, their feast was likely to be followed by a partial famine. It was a great treat to us to have an abundance of fresh, succulent fish for supper and breakfast.

123 A little girl of the village, having been ill of fever for some weeks, her father begged my companion, when we arrived, to request me to give her some medicine, for they thought me a conjurer. Calling her to me, I put a quinine tablet into her mouth and gave her a draught of pure coffee.
[593] She took the medicine readily because her father had commanded her to take it. Usually, these people will not eat anything we offer them until they have first seen us eat a portion of it. They fear it may be either poisoned or bewitched. I gave the child a second dose the following morning. This broke up the fever, for I heard some weeks afterward that she was well again and growing fleshy. Doubtless the savages now consider me a great medicine man. The
302 child in question was loved and esteemed by her parents, in
593 proof of which they had daubed her little body with gum
301 from the waist up, then stuck on a coat of white feathers; and finally, having rubbed a mass of red, putty-like gum into her front hair, they plaited over this a solid layer of brilliant crimson feathers plucked from the breast of the macaw.

000 As we journeyed the next day, skirting the Rio Vermelho, we met with an accident that seriously affected our food supply. One of our mules that was conveying two small bags of sugar, got too far in advance with some loose horses, and plunged with them into a stream that was usually dry, but which was now a raging torrent because of the recent rains. All were swept away down stream, but the horses succeeded in scrambling out, despite the network of vegetation that covered the bank down into the water. But the mule, because of its burden, could not get out, and was carried down stream. Our muleteers rushed up, and slipping instantly out

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

a Bororó whose arm had been crushed between the jaws of 224
a jaguar in a battle of this kind.

The great ant-bear is a much-prized game with the Bororó. Finding one, they do not kill it at once, but drive it to the village. This is easily done since the brute always runs straight away from its pursuers at a slow pace; hence it can be driven in any direction by the hunter appearing on one flank or the other. The savages make use of every part of its body—blood, flesh, skin, hair, bones and entrails.

The Bororó are marvelous fishermen. Their principal 226
method for catching fish is with a huge sack-like net which [286]
is made with large meshes and of the same kind of cordage as the bow strings. The mouth of the sack is secured to two parallel rods ten or twelve feet in length, which are bound together at the extremities; and the sack is opened by springing the rods apart. Equipped with these sack-nets, a group of the primitive anglers plunge into the river a few miles above [526]
the village and descend with the great, muddy current, swimming and diving, and exploring the depths of the river; and by the exercise of astonishing skill, succeed in bagging fish that weigh ten or fifteen, or even one hundred pounds. When the fish is once inside the sack, the mouth is allowed to spring shut, and the sack is then gradually rolled up by revolving the poles; and finally, when the fish is in such close quarters that it is helpless, and has been brought to the surface of the water, the fisherman seizes the small club which he has been trailing from the back of his neck, and pommels it until it is dead. The sack is now unrolled and the fish removed, strung on a cord and trailed behind with the club; then the almost amphibious man proceeds once more to explore the depth of the river for more fish. The whole operation of catching and disposing of the fish is performed in deep water; and when the savage angler finally lands at the village, he may drag after him half a dozen or more ten or fifteen-pound fish. Sometimes, four or five large fish are caught at one scoop. When the fisherman bags a fish nearly as large as himself, he is forced to call a companion to assist him.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

226 526 147 These men display amazing strength in the water. They have almost lived in the water from babyhood, and have learned the secret of just how to bring into play nearly every ounce of their great strength. An ordinary swimmer wastes the greater part of his strength in the water because he has not acquired the secret of how to apply it. A Bororó will roll over on his back, seize an object with both hands, and pull almost like a tug-boat.

226 When fish become scarce, part of the men of the village, taking their sack-nets, form a cordon across the river, then bellowing, screaming and diving, treading the water and making a great commotion, drive the scattered fish down the river, much as cowboys round up cattle; while the remaining men, with their sack-nets, form a line across the river two or three miles below to complete the round-up. Thus they corner and bag the fish.

[411 227] Another method of fishing employed by the Bororó, is with a harpoon. The point, including the one or two barbs, is of bone, and detaches from the staff, which is eighteen inches in length. Fifty or one hundred yards of strong line is wound around the point part and one end secured to the detachable staff. Armed with this weapon, the fisherman dives very quietly to the bottom of the river at a spot which he knows to be the lurking place of a *jahú*, for instance, a fish that grows as large as a man. Espying one as it rests in the shadow of some rock, he approaches it with great stealth, lying, perhaps, motionless in the water and allowing the current to float him gently within reach of his prey. Then, suddenly, he plunges the harpoon into it, and retaining the staff in his hand, he rises quickly to the surface, lands, plays his game, and finally brings it ashore. This method of fishing is practiced when the water becomes less charged with earth.

[411 227] Still another method of catching fish is with the bow and the large harpoon arrow with the line attached. Thus armed, the fisherman awaits his game at some shallow place, or where the fish pass near the surface of the water; or at a spot where they approach the edge of the river to feed upon certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

fruits that fall into the water from the overhanging branches of trees. The habits of the denizens of both forest and stream are well known to the wild men.

The Bororó also fish with a bow and an ordinary harpoon-pointed arrow, which they shoot into a fish when it comes near the surface, then dash into the water, seize the end of the arrow and drag the fish ashore. They cannot catch very large fish in this way. They do not care much for fish-hooks. The only time I saw them use them was to patrol the river once when fish were scarce. But this is a new method of fishing to them.

One day, we went fishing with hooks and lines off some rocks. After waiting some time for a bite, one of our hooks in the meantime getting fast in a log at the bottom of the river, several Bororó appeared, equipped with their sack-nets, and plunged into the river to fish. So we asked one of them to dive and release the hook. Coming up with it soon, he made us appear foolish by coolly informing us that there were no fish in that locality. Having learned to greatly respect Bororó knowledge of such matters, we drew in our lines and abandoned the spot.

When we arrived at the Tá Dáre Máno Páro village, the river Pogúbu teemed with fish, especially with a fine specie called *pacú* by the Brazilians. A low, rumbling sound, like the paddling of a steamboat in the distance, caused by these fish, issued from the river. In these seasons of plenty, the natives are contented and grow fleshy.

The Bororó frequently plunge into the turbid waters of the river at the dead of night when the darkness is inky, and swimming and diving, fish for hours while descending with the current. Of course they can see nothing, so must guide themselves by the senses of feeling and hearing. They have no canoes, nor any knowledge of how to make them.

One of the most striking traits of character of these children of Nature is their power of imitation. Their music (?) is almost wholly the reproducing of the voices of the many wild creatures they know, while their sports are close imita-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bepi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from [237] the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, [533] the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [785] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [302] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with [224] the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada
261 para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
● [226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

/481 cont./

415 on the hunt needed no vessels or they knew how to make do with The men fruit /482/ shells and bamboo, they kept their feathers in large bamboo boxes, and the women made pot-bowls and water pots at home. The giant bamboo does not grow in the vicinity of the [824] colony, but is fetched from some distance; we found containers 50-60 centimeters long and nine centimeters thick, out of which longitudinal lids had been cut.

224 On page 558 I have presented drastic examples of the crude lack of understanding which was characteristic of the Bororó in contrast to the field cultivation of the Brazilians. The men went out hunting for days and weeks; sometimes they were accompanied by a few women. Thus it was not a purely nomadic life, but rather settlement was present. It was made possible by the roasting of game and by fishing.

We saw a group of returning hunters; they brought home in [251] carrying baskets a quantity of meat very thoroughly roasted, black and dry, chiefly wild pig, fowl, and turtles, with large, charred pieces of skin and only little meat adhering to them. [151] The Brazilians valued the Bororó as excellent trackers; deserting soldiers were soon caught with their help.*

487 * In order to prevent the troops sent out against them from finding their village, the natives resorted to the ruse of traveling the final stretch of the way through the trees as much as possible.

226 Fish were shot with arrows or caught with hooks, which they made out of stolen iron and out of the shell of the turtle, copying the Brazilian model, or in nets; in that a circle was formed and the fish driven together. They also blocked narrower rivers with branches and grass, leaving a few funnel-shaped entrance holes, behind which an enclosure of bamboo sticks was erected. In shallow rivers, Clemente said, the Indians remained in the water [142] all night, working by palm torches. The assertion that they were [824] able to remain under water for a long time remains incompre- [296] hensible to me. They chewed the bitter leaves of the "dyorúbo"

/482 cont./
226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians ĩka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the

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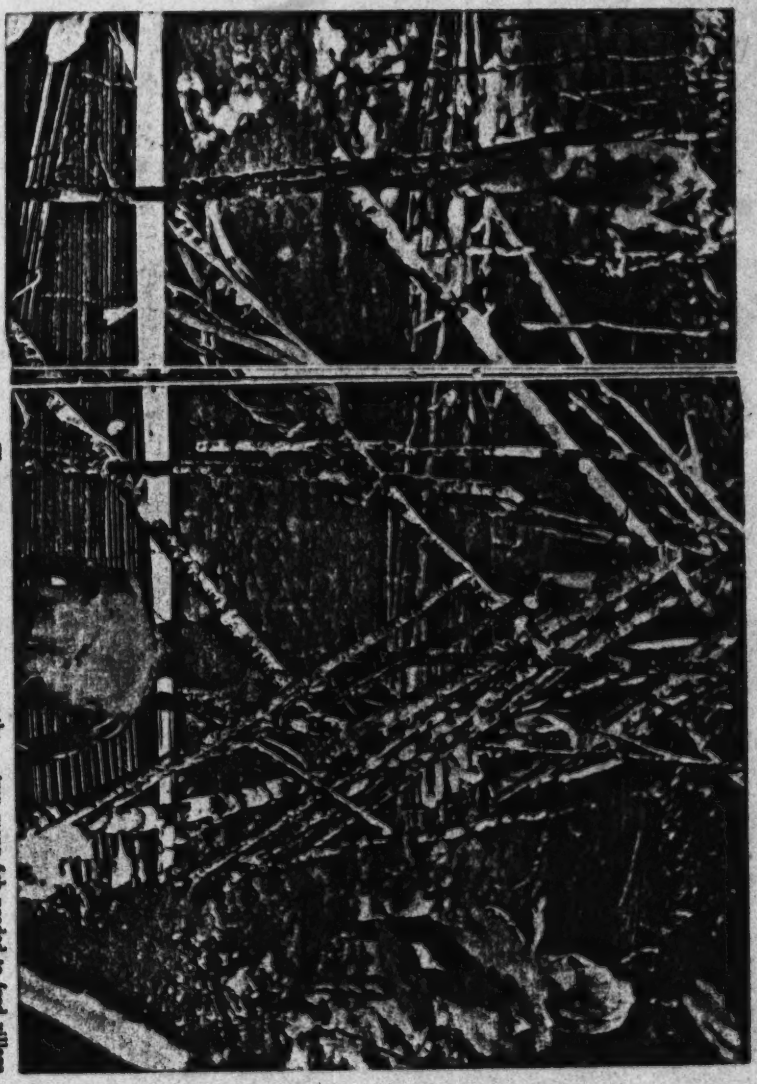

Weir is built across a stream near the village after a death. Fence is used to trap many fish needed to feed village people during the long funeral rituals.

[p. 39-A]

6;Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Barono SP8

SHAMAN, into whose care all of the caught fish are first given for ritual treatment, here places a large fish on palm leaf and cuts it in small pieces.

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[P. 40-B]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo Sp8

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buriti fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupéto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zuzuina*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boíko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold.

411 224 The 5-foot arrow (*tako*) is made by fixing a notched canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p.107 (a)]